

THIRTY-SECOND
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
PHILADELPHIA

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

February, 1866.

PHILADELPHIA:
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1866.

WOMAN'S
WELLNESS

Officers for the Ensuing Year.

PRESIDENT,

LUCRETIA MOTTO.

VICE-PRESIDENT,

SIDNEY ANN LEWIS.

RECORDING SECRETARY,

GUILTELMA JONES.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,

MARY GREW.

TREASURER,

ANNIE SHOEMAKER.

BOARD OF MANAGERS,

LUCRETIA MOTTO,

ANNA M. HOPPER,

REBECCA S. HART,

HANNAH L. STICKNEY,

SARAH H. PEIRCE,

ROSANNA THOMPSON.

REPORT.

The amended Constitution of the United States declares that slavery is forever prohibited under its jurisdiction ; and, to-day, no human being in this nation wears the legal fetters of a slave. Over this great victory of our cause, we would rejoice with the anthems of praise ; but language fails to portray the magnitude of the triumph, or to reach the heights and depths of our glad thanksgiving. A year ago to-day we recorded the names of twelve States whose Legislatures had ratified this doom of slavery. To-day we record the fact that its ratification is completed by twenty of the loyal States of the Republic, and officially announced, by the Secretary of State, as the law of the land. And since this announcement, New Jersey, who last year refused her sanction to the charter of freedom, has done works meet for repentance, and placed her name by the side of the illustrious twenty.

In our review of the year, whose close is crowned with this grand event, we can recount many triumphs of our cause, each of which we hail with grateful joy. We could scarcely comprehend the full meaning of the words which flashed along our telegraphic wires, (more marvellous than the electric messenger which

bore them,) announcing that South Carolina had abolished slavery by a Convention of her people. We were startled with strange joy when we read that in the city of Charleston, Mr. Redpath, of Boston, and Mr. O'Donnell, of Philadelphia, were re-organizing the public schools, and opening them to white and colored children on equal terms; that in Savannah a negro market-house had been converted into a school-room for the freed children; that a Convention of the colored people of South Carolina could assemble in its proudest city, and issue their "Declaration of Rights and Wrongs, their loyal Resolutions and their earnest Appeal to the White Inhabitants of the State," asking that their manhood shall be recognized, and that they shall be governed by the laws which govern white men. Fit tokens and trophies of this new dispensation are the facts that Capt. Robert Small returns to Charleston with his "PLANter," to participate in the flag-raising at Fort Sumpter; that the bell of the slave mart of Charleston is presented, as a relic, to Wendell Phillips; and that William Lloyd Garrison speaks from the slave auction block of South Carolina!

In the results of the November elections, we see the expressed purpose of the people to relinquish nothing already won for freedom; and from some party leaders and presses we hear the avowed determination to win further conquests. Such progress has our glorious cause made in the land, that the Ch. of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States advocates equal suffrage of white and colored citizens.

Two years ago we counted among the victories of our cause, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. To-day we may add to that record the Act of Congress endowing those freedmen with the suffrages of freemen, for, though not yet the law of the land, its passage in the House of Representatives by the vote of one hundred and sixteen yeas against fifty-four nays, and the sure anticipation of its passage in the Senate, call upon us to swell the shout of grateful joy which went up from the Capitol when that vote was announced, and was echoed and re-echoed throughout the land.

Tennessee kept her promise of celebrating the 22d of February by the adoption of the Amendment to her State Constitution, whereby slavery is forever prohibited on her soil; and Florida has recently, by act of convention, recorded her assent to its abolition in that State. Illinois has cleansed her statute book from the dark stain of its infamous "black laws," which almost dispossessed her claim to be a free State.

The review of the past year furnishes us with signal instances of political justice, such as are rarely witnessed in the world's history. Charleston, the stronghold of slavery, which, in its pride and strength, defied the world, and trampled the black man under its feet, heard its doom in the martial tread of a regiment of South Carolina negroes, the first United States soldiers who entered its streets masters of the city. And, to-day, ex-Governor Wise protests in vain against the occupancy of his Virginia

estate by the daughter of John Brown and her negro pupils.

Many incidents have passed under our observation during the year, which, if possessing no great intrinsic importance, are worthy of notice as indicators of public sentiment. Among these is the appointment of colored men to offices never assigned to them hitherto, and the action of various ecclesiastical bodies in admitting colored men as delegates to their convocations, or in the adopting of resolutions advocating their political rights. Especially worthy of notice are the earnest words in which the Young Men's Christian Association of New York deplore their past unfaithfulness to the slave, and pledge themselves, henceforward, to the cause of freedom.

Among the most cheering tokens of the progress of our cause, the most signal triumphs of freedom, we must record the action of our present Congress. The assembling of this body was, for months, anticipated with intense solicitude by the friends and enemies of human liberty; each party tremulous with hope and fear. "Will Congress stand firm?" asked the anxious abolitionist. "Congress must dare to be brave," exhorted Massachusetts' fearless Senator. "It is with triumphant joy that we now respond, 'Thus far Congress has stood firm; has dared to be brave.' Its opening was bright with promise. The steadfastness with which the House refused admission to Representatives of Rebel States, and the prompt introduction in the Senate and the House, on the first day of the

session, of various bills for the maintenance of equal justice towards the black man, foreshadowed an era of legislation unknown in our Congressional history. The records of the votes in both Houses, from week to week, upon bills and resolutions touching the rights of the colored population of the South, show how well this promise has been kept. The passage of the Bill to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, by a vote of thirty-seven ayes against ten nays, in the Senate; and in the House (with amendments which the Senate will probably confirm,) by one hundred and thirty-six yeas against thirty-three nays;* the passage of the bill for the protection of persons in their civil rights, without regard to color or race, by a vote in the Senate of thirty-three yeas against twelve nays, and its reference, in the House, to the Judiciary Committee, and the evident determination of both Houses to obtain an amendment to the Constitution, which shall guard the freedman's right of suffrage, we hail with joy. But thus far, the crowning glory of this Congress is the act by which it is about to secure the freedom of the emancipated slaves of the District of Columbia. We trust that before its session closes, it will do yet greater deeds for freedom, and prove itself worthy to represent a really free people.

This retrospect of victories, this joyous retracing of the steps by which God has led our enterprise on

* Since this Report was presented, this Bill has been vetoed by Andrew Johnson.

from its feeble beginning, its day of small things, to its present position, where it gloriously illustrates that power whereby one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, naturally suggests the inquiry, "Is the triumph of our cause complete?" May we put off our long-worn armor, lay down the weapons of our warfare, and exchange the battle-cry for the victor's song? Is American slavery really abolished? Legally it is. Is freedom secured to our four million slaves? A survey of the situation shows us, slavery forbidden by our Federal Constitution, a crime throughout the land; the Rebel States, one after another, forced to yield a reluctant assent to the decree, as a condition of their return to representation in Congress, and to State sovereignty; the spirit of slavery asserting itself in the legislation of these conquered provinces, breathing through their press, rise in the hearts of their people. They propose and enact "negro codes," in which many features of the old slave code reappear. South Carolina transfers the lash from the hand of the master to the judge; provides that failure to do a task shall be evidence of indolence, and indolence shall be sufficient cause for the discharge of a servant, or, if the master chooses, for complaint to the judge, "who may cause to be inflicted suitable corporeal punishment," or may impose fines, at his discretion; forbids servants to absent themselves from their masters' premises, or to invite visitors thereto, without permission; forbids a servant who has left one master from mak-

ing a contract with another, without a certificate from the first, and then enacts that if found without employment he shall be punished by imprisonment and hard labor. This code also imposes a penalty on any person who shall entice a servant to leave his master.

Mississippi proposes a code entitled "An Act to Confer Civil Rights upon Freedmen, and for other purposes;" in which the "other purposes" are plainly manifested. Among its provisions is a requirement that "every freedman, free negro and mulatto shall, on the second Monday of January, 1866, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment;" yet the same statute makes it illegal for him to reside in "any city, town or village, without a license from the Mayor thereof;" outside of any city, town or village, without a license from "the Member of the Board of Police, of his beat;" thus making his right to live anywhere, except as a servant, dependent upon the caprice of some city mayor or village police officer. It authorizes a negro servant to bring a suit against his master, but forbids him to produce any testimony in the case from any but white persons.

The ordinance relative to the emancipated negroes of Opelousas, Louisiana, justly designated "a savage ordinance," decrees that no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the town without special permission from his employer; that every negro found on the street after ten o'clock at night, without

written pass from his employer, shall be punished; that no negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town, under any circumstances; or shall be permitted to reside within the town, excepting in the service of some white person or former owner. It forbids all public meetings of negroes or freedmen, and all preaching or exhorting by them to congregations of colored persons, without special permission from the Mayor or President of the Board of Police; prohibits all freedmen, not in the military service, from bearing firearms or any kind of weapons; from selling or bartering any article of traffic within the town, without written permission from his employer, or the Mayor, or President of the Board of Police; declares the provisions of the Act applicable to freed persons of both sexes; and, in a spirit worthy of itself, ordains that it shall "take effect from and after its first publication."

These specimens of the laws by which the South proposes to govern the freedmen, sufficiently explain the unwillingness of the Legislature of Mississippi to ratify the second clause of the Constitutional Amendment, which declares that "Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation;" and, also, the eagerness of the Provisional Governor of South Carolina to prove, from the language of the Secretary of State, that "Congress could not attempt, under the authority given by this Amendment, to pass laws for the government of the

Freedmen in their free state." Very significant is his suggestion to the Legislature of South Carolina, that it would be well in adopting the proposed Amendment, to place on record the construction which had been given to it by the executive department of the Federal Government.

In the same tone and spirit, Gov. Humphreys, of Mississippi, officially announces that, "under the pressure of Federal bayonets, urged on by the misdirected sympathies of the world, the people of Mississippi have abolished the institution of slavery;" but that this negro race, "turned loose upon society," "cannot be admitted to political equality with the white race." Gov. Holden, of North Carolina, acknowledges that the "right to hold property, to read his Bible, and other privileges, belong to the *governed* race; but beyond that, he left all to be decided by the people of the *governing* race." And Gov. Jenkins, in his recent message to the Georgia Legislature, says of the Freedmen, "The necessity of subordination and dependence should be riveted on their convictions."

The press of the South reiterates these sentiments, mingled with stronger utterances of hatred towards the negro race; protesting against Congressional Legislation for their protection; asserting that this is a white man's government, to be administered solely by white men; denouncing all attempts to invest the black man with political rights; and very plainly intimating what shall be his fate when the military power of the United States shall be withdrawn from

Southern soil, and their own militia forces organized, and their authority as States acknowledged.

That the people of the South are truly represented by such a press, we have abundant proof in their own explicit language respecting their colored population. Time would fail us to record this testimony. These Resolutions of a public meeting of planters in South Carolina are a fair specimen of it:

Resolved, That if inconsistent with the views of the authorities to remove the military, we express the opinion that the plan of the military to compel the freedman to contract with his former owner, when desired by the latter, is wise, prudent, and absolutely necessary.

Resolved, That we, the planters of the District, pledge ourselves not to contract with any freedman, unless he can produce a certificate of regular discharge from his former owner.

Resolved, That under no circumstances whatsoever will we rent land to any freedmen, nor will we permit them to live on our premises as employees.

What is this second Resolution but an insolent repudiation of the decree of the United States, that the slave shall be and thereby is discharged from his former owner? And what do they all express but a determination to retain the essence of slavery, without the name?

These revelations of the fact that the spirit of slavery still lives and is cherished throughout the South, prepare us to hear, without surprise, the statements of Government officials and other eye-witnesses respecting the outrages continually perpetrated upon

the freedmen by the State militia and others of the white populace. These terrible details are of the same character as those which we used to record as the legitimate results of the system of slavery; and they will inevitably exist until the spirit of that institution is more thoroughly subjugated. ~~and a silent life~~
 Herein lies the danger of the Freedmen. First, in the determination of the slaveholders to regain power, and establish a system of serfdom or peonage which shall include many of the elements of slavery without the name. "They have," in the language of one well qualified to testify, "simply changed their bags from the battle-field to the ballot-box, believing, as they very frankly admit, that greater triumphs await them there than they could ever hope for in the field." The testimony of Carl Schurz's report is that "the emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up." But, although the freedman is no longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all independent State legislation will show the tendency to make him such. "I desire," he says, "not to be understood as saying that there are no well-meaning men among those who were compromised in the rebellion. There are many, but neither their number nor their influence is strong enough to control the manifest tendency of the popular spirit." Gen. Howard, in a report to the President of the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, says, that the majority of the property

borders, are seeking "some substitute for slavery." The "Free Southerner," published at Hampton, Virginia, assures us that "were it not for the protection of the Freedmen's Bureau, the colored people would be worse off than when in slavery." In the light of all this testimony it is easy to understand why Gov. Worth desires that the Bureau shall be removed from North Carolina, and the negroes left to the justice of the State Courts.

But the strongest proof of this determination on the part of the South, is found in the evidence which we have adduced of the existence of the old slaveholding spirit, and especially in their proposed or enacted legislation respecting their colored population. In view of this overwhelming proof, the following Resolutions sound in our ears as a cry for help:—

Resolved, By the colored citizens of Vicksburg, that we view with alarm the efforts now being made by the men in power in Mississippi to nullify the "Proclamation of Emancipation."

Resolved, That it is our firm conviction, and we hereby put it on record, that should Mississippi be restored to her status in the Union under her amended Constitution as it now stands, her Legislature, under pretext of guarding the interests of the State from the evils of sudden emancipation, will pass such proscriptive laws against the freedmen as will result in their expatriation from the State, or their practical re-enslavement.

A second cause of alarm for the freedman's safety, lies in every indication that the United States Gov-

eriment will not effectually secure and maintain the personal liberty which the Federal Constitution now declares to be his. Among these, is the President's plan of Reconstruction, which would restore to the rebels their State authority and representation in Congress, without investing the freedmen with the protection of the ballot. In harmony with this plan, the colored troops are being withdrawn from Southern States, and State militia organized and officered with men who were prominent in the rebel army. By instructions from Washington, Maj. Gen. Terry has been obliged to restrict the operations of the Freedmen's Court at Richmond to civil cases exclusively, leaving the negro to be tried, upon criminal charges, by the State courts. And, months ago, it was announced that all cases relating to freedmen in Louisiana would be turned over to the State courts.

The same spirit which endangers the liberty of the colored race in the South, exists in the North. At its behest, Connecticut, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa denied citizenship to the negro; and Rhode Island banished his children from her public schools. At its behest, Philadelphia insults her colored population by closing against them the doors of her city railroad cars, and the pews of her churches.

This survey of the condition of our four million clients, reveals to us the fact that the triumph of our cause, though immensely great, is not completed; and suggests the inquiry, What is needful to its completion? Evidently, this. The bestowal upon

the emancipated slave of sufficient political liberty for the protection of his personal liberty. Under our form of government, the ballot in the hand of the freedman is essential to this liberty. Under other governments, where standing armies enforce the behests of a sovereign or legislature, the personal freedom of an emancipated race might be protected without this safeguard against their conquered masters. But where, theoretically, the expressed will of the people is law, and, practically, the expressed will of the voting population is law, and where each State has, within Constitutional limits, much independent power of legislation, the colored population of the South, wrested from their masters' grasp by the violent hand of war, and made legally free by a Government which those masters hate, will be helpless victims of tyranny, if left without an American citizen's protection—a voice in making the laws which shall govern them. *A priori* reasoning would demonstrate this; and Southern attempts at legislation already illustrate it. The essential importance of thus securing the freedom proclaimed by the Constitution cannot be better expressed than in the language of Mr. Trumbull, in his speech in the Senate of the United States on the citizenship of the negro.

“The announcement of great truths in the fundamental law are of little consequence while they who are to be affected by them are denied the means of availing themselves of their benefit. Of what avail

was the immortal declaration that all men are created free and equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, to the millions of African descent in this land, who, for generations, were subjected to a bondage the most abject and cruel the world has ever known? Of what avail was that other declaration that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States, to a citizen of Massachusetts who, for undertaking to assert a Constitutional right in the court, had to flee from South Carolina to escape personal violence? Of what avail will the great act abolishing slavery be, if the late slaveholding States, by unequal, oppressive and tyrannical legislation shall still be permitted to deny to those of African descent the great essentials of freedom?

The next question which naturally presents itself to our consideration is this: In view of the education which the war has given to the American people, and the progress which they have made towards a true appreciation of liberty; and in view of the splendid victories which our cause has won, may we not leave the completion of its triumph in the hands of the Nation? If this Nation were truly regenerated; if, humbly repentant for its guilt concerning its enslaved brother, it were eager to make atonement for the past, by doing full justice to him now; then might we entrust to its keeping the vital interests of those whose advocates we so long have been, confident that the transition period between

slavery and freedom would be quickly and safely passed under its guidance, and our enterprise gloriously consummated by its willing hands. But sufficient evidence of this penitence and regeneration is not found in the fact that the shock of war has overthrown the system of slavery, nor in the people's loud Amen! responsive to its doom. Great and marvellous as is this change, thrilling our souls with grateful joy that our eyes have seen and our ears heard it, it is yet not enough to convince us that the freedman's interest may be safely left to the Nation's guardianship. It is not enough that the people who have decreed his emancipation acknowledge his just claim to liberty; not enough that they have discovered that slavery is a national curse; not enough that parties, associations or churches assert that, being emancipated, he ought to be invested with the suffrage of a freeman; the guardianship of his rights, the defence of his liberties, can be safely entrusted only to those who will persistently demand, in the name of justice and humanity, that his tyrants shall not be restored to Federal or State power, until that weapon of protection, the ballot, be placed in his hand.

The Military Department of the Government has never evinced a hearty willingness to deal justly with the negro troops. Notwithstanding the tribute to their valor, paid by many officers who have led them; notwithstanding the testimony of Gen. Grant, that, "for guard and picket duty, on the march and in an assault," they are "surpassed by no soldiers in the

world, and equalled by very few; "they have been grudgingly paid for less than white troops; and, in many cases, bounties have been entirely withheld from them.

That the interests of the freedmen cannot be safely entrusted to the President's guardianship, he has given abundant proof. His plan of reconstruction, as set forth in his instructions to the people of North Carolina and Mississippi, provides that the rebellious States may be restored to their Constitutional relations to the Federal Government, without giving citizenship to the negro. He claims and exercises the power of appointing Provisional Governors in those States; of demanding, as a condition of return to the Union, the ratification of the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, and repudiation of the rebel debt; yet will not add this most important requisition of justice for the black man. It was no conscientious fear of exceeding his Constitutional powers that held him back from doing a noble deed which his heart panted to do, and which would have given his name a place in history by the side of the martyred and immortal Lincoln; he openly deplores the agitation of the negro-franchise question in Congress. He has proved faithless to the black soldier, refusing him the bounty declared to be his due by the Attorney-General of the United States; he can and does interfere between white rebels and the penalties to which Congressional legislation dooms them; yet will not interfere

between the loyal black man and the injustice done to him. He tells the negro that liberty consists in "the glorious privilege of work;" and he pardons hundreds of unrepentant rebels, who go out from his presence to concentrate their hate and wreak their vengeance upon that unarmed, defenceless negro. No wonder that he wins encomiums from Southern pulpits, press and people, and that they give thanks for a President who "stands between" them "and the Radicals," "to curb the fanaticism of the North!" *Shall Abolitionists trust him?*

May we leave our work to be finished by the Republican Party? That party numbers among its adherents and among its leaders men who will demand absolute justice for the colored man, and who will not sacrifice his right of citizenship to any scheme of reconstruction or any dream of power. But its State Conventions and its principal organs endorse and sustain the policy of the President; and either evade the question of negro suffrage, or openly avow, as does the New York Tribune, that while they will advocate such suffrage as a measure of justice, they will not insist upon it as a condition of return to the Union. Even the Republican State Convention of Massachusetts announced that it had "no theory of suffrage to propose." And THE PRESS of this city, in one breath, praises the speech of Senator Doolittle, in support of the President's reconstruction policy, and in the next, exults over the passage, by the House

of Representatives, of the bill extending suffrage to the colored men of the District of Columbia.*

The Convention of the Radical Republicans of Wisconsin, held in September last, stands in bold relief among these Conventions of the party, and rebukes their timidity by its fearless speech, and earnest pledges of fidelity to the cause of the black man's real freedom.

We shall scarcely be asked to leave our work in the hands of the American Church. Though her voice has a truer tone to-day than it has had through the years of our long conflict; though, in the mighty revolution which has rolled the nation onward, she has made moral progress; her eagerness to recall her Southern members whose hands are still red with the blood of the slave, proves that she does not "remember those in bonds as bound with them." The churches of this city present a sad spectacle of inconsistency between their professions and practice, by refusing to exert their influence to open the doors of our city railway cars to our colored population. This class of our people who are thus daily insulted in our streets; whom our churches insult with their "negro pews;" whom our politicians insult with arguments against their fitness to use the ballot; whom our President insults by denying them a soldier's full recompense for a soldier's full work, have borne themselves, since the commencement of the war, with dignified patience

* Since this Report was presented, "The Times" has taken a bold and manly position against the President's course.

and unswerving loyalty to the Government. Brave on the battle field, industrious and peaceable on the plantation, eagerly seeking knowledge for themselves and their children, they have refuted the slanders of their enemies, who predicted that they would revolt against order and law, and rush to revenge their wrongs upon their oppressors. In the North and the South, they have assembled in Conventions, and by resolutions, remonstrances and appeals to the people, have stated their grievances and asked for redress in manly and earnest tones. The forbearance and forgiveness of injuries characteristic of this persecuted, slandered race, was fitly illustrated by that scene in the audience-chamber of the President, where three emancipated slaves consecrated their new found liberty, by interceding for the pardon of their rebel master. Verily, this nation will cover itself with infamy if it deals not justly with these defenseless ones who, in the hour of its fiery trial, returned to it good for evil, blessing for cursing.

We are sometimes asked to resign our work and our responsibility to the Freedmen's Aid Society. This organization, whose ranks are filled with the benevolent men and women of the country, some of whom are just awakened from their long slumber over the wrongs of the slave; and some of whom have been his faithful champions in the dark days of our enterprise, is doing a noble work nobly. They are feeding, clothing, educating the freedmen whom slavery has plunged into the deepest poverty and ignorance,

reaching out a strong hand to uplift them from their debasement, and fit them for freemen's responsibilities and duties. And the American Freedmen's Aid Union, at a meeting held in New York in May last, adopted resolutions recognizing the colored man's right to the suffrage of a freeman. . . . vast and important as this work is, it is not the work to which, as *abolitionists*, we are pledged, *eis. . . the completion and security of the slave's freedom.* To effect this, the freedman, whose legal fetters are broken, must be armed with the ballot before his tyrants are again clothed with State or National authority. A freedman has been well defined as "one who is possessed of all his natural rights, and endowed with civil rights sufficient for their protection." Such civil rights we must demand and obtain for the colored race in the South, before our work will be done. We may not yet sit down with folded arms, trusting in the developments of the future. . . . We have faith that the future, the near future, is rich with harvests which await our reaping, to be added to those already gathered. But our business is with the needs and dangers of to-day; and we have no right to any faith in the future, which is not accompanied with zealous labor in the present. "Faith without works is dead."

During the past year this Society has received an accession of twenty members; and has performed its work by the same instrumentalities hitherto used to influence public sentiment. By circulating the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and *The Liberator*, and

contributing to their support ; by the expression of our doctrines through the press ; by petitions to Congress ; and by words of remonstrance, warning, approval or censure, as passing events demanded, we have endeavoured to do our part in the great work of converting the Northern heart to a sense of its obligations to those whom it has so long oppressed ; and to a steadfast purpose to fulfil those obligations. The National Anti-Slavery Standard is now the only organ of our Anti-Slavery Societies ; and we regard its support and circulation as an important part of our work, in this perilous national crisis, when its vigilance as a watchman, and its fidelity in warning and rebuke are so greatly needed.

To all who are faithfully laboring in this behalf in any field and under any name, we extend our cordial greeting. We offer our tribute of thanks to that band of faithful men in both Houses of Congress who are battling for the right ; and in whose steadfastness we see a promise of success.

To THE LIBERATOR, our pioneer journal, the morning-star of our enterprise, we bid an affectionate and regretful farewell ; rejoicing that it lived to record the ratification of the Constitutional prohibition of American slavery ; rejoicing that its Editor still lives to reap the harvests of his early sowing, and to bless the world by his voice, his pen and his life.

At the commencement of the year which we close to-day, our hearts beat high with hope that its revolution would witness a glorious celebration of the

American jubilee ; that the top-stone of our temple of freedom would be laid with shoutings and Hosannas ; and that we, discharged from this service, should look abroad over the vast field of humanitarian labor and ask, "Lord ! what wilt thou have me to do ?" Suddenly and in quick succession came the tidings of the capture of Richmond, and of Lee's surrender ; and the nation, electrified with joy, uttered its thanksgiving through pealing bells, booming cannon, hymns of praise, and solemn words of prayer. In that ecstatic hour, while all faces were turned upward to the heavens which smiled in brightness, came that thunder bolt which transfixes the nation with terror and grief. Abraham Lincoln fell by the assassin hand of slavery. Then men knew that American slavery was not dead. A wail of lamentation deep and loud went up from the hearts of the millions of slaves and freedmen who mourned a friend and deliverer slain. The nation braced itself against the shock ; the grand machinery of popular government paused not an instant ; and, while the people buried their martyred President with the highest funeral honors which a people can bestow, the tears of affection, his successor vowed to carry on the work which he had begun. The hopes which he excited, the anxiety with which the friends of freedom watched his course, the fading of those hopes, the downward progress as the months rolled on, until he who had promised to be the negro's Moses proved his betrayer, are now inwrought with our country's history. Doubtless we took counsel of our fervent

wishes, rather than of our cooler reason, when we expected that the national decree declaring slavery abolished would at once annihilate the system so inwrought with the nation's heart and life, and that the transition from slavery to actual freedom would be rapid and brief. The official promulgation of that decree was the signal of our triumph, over which we rejoiced with joy unutterable. We looked southward and saw the land strewed with unlocked fettters and broken chains; and when the tears of joy which veiled our eyes had fallen, we saw the enraged and defiant tyrants fastening with eager haste new bonds upon their victims. We will not pause to portray our disappointment in impotent words of regret; we will meet the demands of the present hour with the strength and courage which has borne us through the past; looking hopefully to the future with unshaken faith that He, who with a mighty hand and outstretched arm hath brought the American slaves out of the Egypt of their bondage, will turn back their pursuers, and guide them safely through their perilous passage to perfect freedom.

*Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in account with
ANNIE SHOEMAKER, Treasurer.*

1865.	DR.	
To Rent of Room for Annual Meeting.....	5 00	
" Printing Annual Report.....	62 10	
" Subscription to Liberator (10 copies).....	35 00	
" " " N. Anti-Slavery Standard (50 copies)	150 00	
" Rent of room for stated meetings.....	9 00	
" " " special meetings.....	1 00	
" Advertising in Ledger.....	5 00	
1865. Balance in Treasury.....	0 00	<hr/>
		266 19

1865.	CR.	
By balance in Treasury.....	73 39	
" Members' subscriptions.....	124 80	
" Donations.....	68 00	<hr/>
		266 19

LYDIA GILLINGHAM, *Auditor.*